794 Besides, this submission, if one may call it that, is merely a corollary of the solidarity existing between nyana-den'. This solidarity is shown to the profane whenever litigation arises outside the sphere of the brotherhood; nyana-den' do not [696] hesitate to bear false witness for the sole purpose of helping a guilty co-member evade the sanctions of profane jurisdiction.

For failure to fulfill his obligations or for any other wrong considered reprehensible by the brotherhood, the nyana-den' comes under the jurisdiction of this brotherhood.

Fearing the supernatural retribution which his misdeeds [783] [265] may provoke and seeing portents of it in apparently inexplicable things that cause him pain and surprise, the nyana-den' himself seeks pardon through some kind of expiation, determined by his own intuition alone or by one of the clergy.

On other occasions, the guilty person fails to denounce himself, not merely by deliberate design but sometimes because [787] he is not aware of his wrongdoing and its consequences. In that case it is the wara-da (oracle) who reveals it in a trance.

794 695 The clergy is led, by means of self-accusation, denunciation by witnesses, or accusations based on the most varied imputations, to learn, to investigate, to adjudicate, and to punish the acts of the faithful in material as well as spiritual matters. In the process of carrying out its duties in this respect, the clergy uses every imaginable means of obtaining information and of examination, but the proof of guilt that they particularly want is confession.

The various procedures used to persuade the accused to confess his wrongs may be put under three headings: oath, torture, and divination.

When an oath is taken, the boli is provided with an accessory known as the siri-kun' (knot), to which seven straws are attached. The person taking the oath (kali boli la, "to swear on the boli") then pronounces the usual formula: "May the nyana take my heart and my liver if I lie." When two people exchange this oath in order to vouch for their respective statements, they are said to have "tied the boli" (boli syen'), and it is believed that anyone who perjures himself will be put to death

794 by the god. It is conceded, however, that a perjurer may re-
695 deem himself by gifts and sacrifices whose nature and value are decided by the clergy.

Torture includes the most diverse types of moral and physical constraint thought to be efficacious in getting a confession: usually flogging, imprisonment, starvation, mutilation, and other tortures, often horrible. A method that often succeeds and that is commonly used is to offer up the unknown guilty party to the wrath of the nyana; it is not at all rare for the guilty person to confess at the first signs of discomfort due to auto-suggestion. It is so firmly established that the wrath of the nyana is always implacable and terrible that innocent persons, accused only for the sake of exploiting them, have been known to confess abominable crimes which they [266] never committed, for instance, in cases of accusation of sorcery.

[787] Divination comes to the support of the inquiry, and the deity's revelations are combined with endless spying among the members.

It goes without saying that these various methods of inquiry are not used alone; they are combined so as to provide mutual support.

On the basis of findings made in this way, the clergy passes judgment and has the sentence carried out in a despotic and often mysterious manner (1).

> 1. Indeed, most of the brotherhoods owe their terrifying reputations to the fact that sentences resulting in death or disappearance have been carried out by ways and agents who remain mysterious.

794 The penalties are varied and arbitrary; the importance
696 of a misdemeanor is not determined in advance on the basis of specific characteristics. Rather, everything depends on the clergy's interest in the case, and this interest is influenced by the most appalling intrigues. Therefore, even though the accused is guilty of the most terrible crimes, he may escape punishment entirely provided he can satisfy the demands of the

794 clergy. On the other hand, an innocent man will be over-
696 whelmed by mental and physical torture if he is unable to give his executioners what they demand.

681 Corporal punishment includes flogging, chains, starvation, torture, and death by all imaginable methods. Pecuniary punishment includes fines, confiscation, and pillage. The condemned man is also sometimes forced to labor for the clergy or is even enslaved by them.

## Social and Political Role of the Brotherhoods

794 By its actions, the brotherhood, an artificial family,
776 tends to take the place of the natural family whose organization
769 it has borrowed and whose cult it has banished. It is easy to account for this.

The cult of the manes is the framework of the family and of the communities derived from it. The brotherhood has cleverly managed to set up such a cult by specially honoring the manes of its high priests, its famous members, and its eminent worshipers. [267]

Gradually, the nyana dugu-da-siri, protector of the territorial community, has given way to the nyana of the boli, a more powerful god since his territory is unlimited.

It is true that in spite of everything the tradition remains, and even though they are largely over-shadowed by the nyana of the boli, the manes of the ancestors and the nyana dugu-da-siri are still venerated. Though sowing and harvesting are celebrated
731 with great pomp by the brotherhoods, still, when a disaster,
782 epidemic, or terrible drought occurs, sacrifices are promptly offered to the manes and the gods of the place. People may fear their anger, but they also have confidence in their good will, and it is felt that their severity can always be tempered. On the other hand, the nyana of the boli are supposed to be basically evil, and their worship seems intended to ward off their malignity rather than to obtain their favor.

794 This duality in religion brings about extremely compli-
621 cated interrelationships which bind the communities and